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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2788

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR

SUBJ: SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

REF: A) STATE 109045

B) USNATO 2571

1. POLADS ON MAY 13 HAD ANOTHER DISCUSSION OF IS PAPER ON "SOVIET CONCEPT OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." PER REF A, US REP NOTED THAT US HAD SIGNED DOCUMENTS WITH SOVIETS WHICH CONTAINED PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE TERM, THOUGH WITH A CONTENT WE FOUND ACCEPTABLE. IN VIEW OF THIS, US EP SUSGGESTED FIRST SENTENCE PARA 13 OF PAPER BE REWRITTEN PER DEPT'S SUGGESTION. US SUGGESTION RAN INTO GENERAL OPPOSITION ON GROUND STHAT IT WEAKENED THRUST OF PAPER. AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION, THERE WAS WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT TO SHORTEN FINAL PARA (SEE PARA 11 BELOW), WITH FORMULTION THAT "THE CONCEPTS OF DETENTE, ENTENTE AND COOPERATION, WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY, SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED RATHER THAN THE AMBIGUOUS CONCEPT OF 'PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE'."

(COMMENT: THIS IS WEAKER THAN PREVIOUS DRAFT'S STATEMENT THAT DETENTE, AGREEMENT AND COOPERATION "SHOULD BE PREFERRED" TO COEXISTENCE.)

2. FACT THAT US, AND POSSIBLY OTHER COUNTRIES, HAVE USED "PEACEFUL CONFIDENTIAL

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COEXISTENCE" TERM IN DOCUMENTS SIGNED WITH SOVIETS IS REFLECTED IN BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN PARA 1 BELOW.

3. MISSION BELIEVES NEW REVISED TEXT, WHICH IT RECEIVED COB MAY 16,

ADEQUATELY PROTECTS US POSITION AND SUGGESTS WE BE AUTHORIZED TO APPROVE LATEST DRAFT.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR MAY 20 POLADS, IF POSSIBLE.

BEGIN TEXT:

SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF PRIME MINISTER WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW ON 17TH FEB, 1975 (AS WELL AS THE ANGLO-SOVIET PROTOCOL ON CONSULTATIONS) CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:

"THE TWO SIDES DECLARED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, WHICH MEANS LONG-TERM, FRUITFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

BEGIN BRACKETS

ALTHOUGH THE TERM "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" HAS OCCURED PREVIOUSLY IN EAST-WEST DOCUMENTS, THE DEFINITION SET FORTH IN THE JOINT UK-USSR STATEMENT APPEARS TO BE A NEW PRESENTATION, MEANT TO PROVIDE A FORMULATION MORE CONSISTENT WITH WESTERN VIEWS ON DETENTE. THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" HAS FOR MANY YEARS BEEN UNACCEPTABLE TO MOST WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AS A BASIS FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BECAUSE OF ITS IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES AND ITS FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT BY THE SOVIET SIDE TO ATTAIN THEIR OBJECTIVES AT THE EXPENSE OF WESTERN INTERESTS.

END BRACKETS

2. THE TRADITIONAL INTERPRETATION OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" FITS INTO THE OVERALL IDEOLOGY AND DIALCTIC OF MARXIST THEORY
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WHICH REGARDS THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM OVER CAPITALISM AS INEVITABLE. THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS THEREFORE OF A DYNAMIC NATURE, AIMED AT RESHAPING INTERSTATE RELATIONS. A TYPICAL FORMULATION IS TO BE FOUND IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF A MEETING BETWEEN REPS OF THE EAST GERMAN SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY AND THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PUBLISHED ON 3RD DEC, 1974):

"PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE DOES NOT SIGNIFY THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SOVIAL POLITICAL STATUS QUO NOR THE END OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BUT CONTRIBUTES TO THE CREATION OF MORE FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES."

3. THE CONCEPT OF A STATIC RELATIONSHIP, WHETHER BETWEEN
CLASSES OR COUNTRIES, IS FOREIGN TO COMMUNIST THINKING. MARXIST-
LENINIST IDEOLOGY POSTULATES A CONTINUING, INEVITABLE AND
EVENTUALLY SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASSES AGAINST
THE BOURGEOISIE AND BY EXTENSION OF THE "SOCIALIST" STATES
AGAINST THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE "CAPITALISM" AS PERCEIVED BY
MARXIST-LENINISTS HAS A DOMINATING INFLUENCE. AS EARLY AS THE
PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION, HOWEVER, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP FROM A POSITION
OF RELATIVE WEAKNESS HAS HAD TO FACE THE FACT OF THE CONTINUED
EXISTENCE OF WHAT THEY SAW AS A LARGELY HOSTILE "CAPITALIST"
WORLD; IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE HAS BEEN A REALISTIC
APPRECIATION OF THE FUTILITY OF TRYING TO DESTROY IT BY WAR.
THE DOCTRINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" RESOLVES THIS CONTRADICTION;
USED BY SOVIET LEADERS SINCE THE EARLY 1920S, IT WAS ELEVATED
IN 1956 FROM A CONVENIENT HISTORICAL INTERLUDE INTO A STATE OF
INDEFINITE DURATION. THIS VIEW BECAME AND HAS SINCE REMAINED
THE DOCTRINAL BASIS OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN STATES.
"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IS THUS PEACEFUL ONLY IN THE SENSE
THAT IT EXCLUDES GENERAL WAR, AND FORESEES COEXISTENCE ONLY
UNTIL WHAT BREZHNEV HAS CALLED "THE TOTAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD" OVER CAPITALISM. DURING THIS PERIOD OTHER
FORMS OF STRUGGLE (POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND IN SOME
CASES LOCAL WARS) ARE NOT EXCLUDED AND, ACCORDING TO SOME
AUTHORITIES INCLUDING BREZHNEV HIMSELF, MUST ACTUALLY BE
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INTENSIFIED. "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE APPEARS AS A DIALECTICAL
PHENOMENON WHICH CONTAINS ELEMENTS BOTH OF CO-OPERATION AND
OF STRUGGLE.... IT IS ABOVE ALL A SPECIFIC FORM OF THE CLASS
STRUGGLE IN THE INT'L ARENA". IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT
SOVIET LEADERS RECOMMEND SOVIET-FINNISH RELATIONS AS A MODEL OF
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

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4. A FURTHER DIFFICULTY FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE TRADITIONAL SOVIET DEFINITION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE HAS LAIN IN ITS APPLICATION ONLY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. INSIDE THE SOVIET CAMP, IT IS "PROLETARIAN" OR "SOCIALIST" INTERNATIONALISM WHICH APPLIES. ACCORDING TO THE ABOVE INTERPRETATION THE "CLASS" CHARACTER OF INTRA-COMMUNIST RELATIONS REQUIRES THAT NATIONAL INTERESTS OF COMMUNIST STATES BE SUBORDINATED TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CAUSE, AND THAT THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM, ONCE MADE, IS IRREVERSIBLE.

5. THE DOCTRINE PURPORTS TO REWRITE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TO APPLY THEM IN A DISCRIMINATORY WAY ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION.

6. THE WORDING ADOPTED IN THE ANGLO-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE COULD BE PRESENTED AS CONTAINING SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT IMPLICATIONS FROM THE TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS SINCE IT EQUATES "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WITH CO-OPERATION, WHICH MEANS MORE THAN MERELY THE AVOIDANCE OF GLOBAL WAR; IT REFERS TO "FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT" WHICH IS HARDLY COMPATIBLE WITH CONTINUED IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE; MOREOVER, THIS VERSION APPLIES "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" TO

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"STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS", WHICH DOES NOT EXPLICITLY RULE OUT ITS APPLICATION AMONG THE SOCIALIST STATES.

7. BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW FOR THE SOVIETS IN EQUATING THE IDEA OF COEXISTENCE WITH THAT OF CO-OPERATION. THE FAILURE TO MENTION IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE DOES NOT REPRESENT ANY FORM OF CONCESSION. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT THE KREMLIN WILL NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE TO STATE THAT ITS POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND ITS CONTROL OVER OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

8. WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED AT ADJUSTMENTS IN SOVIET FORMULATIONS ON PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FOR CONSUMPTION OUTSIDE THE SOVIET BLOC AND DESIGNED TO MEET THE SENSITIVITY OF SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, ANY SUCH NEW FORMULATIONS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY SOVIET INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR WHEN THE USSR SEES ITS INTERESTS AS SERIOUSLY THREATENED. THE SOVIETS HAVE IN FACT MADE PERSISTENT EFFORTS TO GET "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" ENDORSED

AS A PRINCIPLE OF INT'L LAW; BUT, IN PROMOTING THE CONCEPT INTER-NATIONALLY, THEY HAVE IN GENERAL BEEN CAREFUL TO SUPPRESS ITS IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES AND TO IDENTIFY IT EXCLUSIVELY WITH PRINCIPLES IN LINE WITH WESTERN IDEAS OF INT'L RELATIONS.

9. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SEVERAL CASES WHERE SOVIET STATEMENTS ON INT'L EVENTS HAVE TAKEN ON A MORE AGGRESSIVE TONE AND SEEM TO BE DETERMINED MORE BY IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAN BY A DESIRE FOR POLITICAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE WEST: IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON 16TH MARCH, BREZHNEV TOOK THE OCCASION TO RESTATE THE SOVIET VIEW OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN TERMS CLOSER TO TRADITIONAL PRE-WILSON VISIT FORMULATIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THE ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF COEXISTENCE ONLY APPLIED BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERING SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BUT NOT WITHIN THE COMMUNIST CAMP.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND IS THE ASSESSMENT IN "PRAVDA" ON 8TH APRIL OF THE RESULTS OF THE "PEACE PROGRAMME" ADOPTED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS: PRAVDA STATES THAT THE INSEPARABLE LINK BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE NATIONS' ASPIRATIONS FOR SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION HAS

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ALWAYS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET CP.

CONCLUSION:

10. THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" REMAIN VALID. RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS ON BOTH PRINCIPLES REFLECT IN NO WAY A CHANGE IN DOCTRINE. IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOVIET LEADERS SIMPLY TO DISREGARD EITHER ONE OF THEM, BEING MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THEIR IDEOLOGY, JUST TO MEET THE INTEREST OF THE SOVIET STATE IN DETENTE. IN SOVIET MINDS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE REMAINS AN EXPRESSION OF DIALECTIC MOMENTUM, OF NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD, SHORT OF WAR. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIETS CAN SEE THEIR INTERESTS FURTHERED THROUGH CO-OPERATION IN CERTAIN AREAS, AND THE "NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD" IS TEMPERED IN ACTUAL CASES BY OVERALL CONSTRAINTS ON SOVIET ACTION.

11. IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO IMPLY ANY FORMAL WESTERN APPROVAL FOR SOVIET TERMINOLOGY ABOUT "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE". THE CONCEPTS OF DETENTE, ENTENTE, AND CO-OPERATION, WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY, SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED RATHER THAN THE AMBIGUOUS CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE".END TEXT

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